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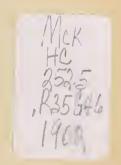
STEPHEN A. RALLIJ

A BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR

ву

J. GENNADIUS

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL GREEK



LONDON Privately Printed



THE original Greek text of the present Memoir first appeared, on April 26th and May 3rd, in the columns of the Nea Imera of Trieste, and was then reprinted in pamphlet form. In the present English version it has been sought to reproduce, as closely as the difference in language permits, the style and character of the original composition, which was inspired by the recollections of a long friend-ship, and by a pious regard for the memory of the deceased. The Memoir having been written for Greeks, there are in it allusions to facts and incidents which cannot be readily understood by a foreign reader. Consequently, some notes have been added to this version, besides those which accompany the original Greek.



STEPHEN A. RALLI.

The same shall be clothed in white raiment, and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life; but I will confess his name before my Father, and before his angels.—Revel. iii, 5.

T appears doubtful if there are many who conceive the significance of that which is taking place in our midst and around us, at the present time, when we are often called upon to follow to their last rest, one after another, the foremost men of the generation now passing away. I do not know whether we are all of us conscious of the danger which looms as our ranks are thus thinned, or whether we are preoccupied with serious thought and anxious care, how many of those that survive are competent to fill the open gaps. But I know this,—and its recollection becomes especially vivid on occasions such as the present,—that only a constant solicitude in respect of those who are to come after us can ensure the public weal. And, therefore, it was the wish of my father, of blessed memory, that, while yet a mere youth, I should witness with him the funeral honours rendered to those Mighty Dead, the remnants of our great War for Independence, who in frequent succession were then being laid to rest. He enjoined that I should impress on my heart and mind those heroic figures, majestic in their repose; that I should reverently kiss those cold hands which, when glowing with vigour, thundered the flint-lock and worked wonders with the scimitar, having thereby enabled me to live the life of a free man, they that were born in bondage. And, admonishing me, he was wont to add, in a voice quivering with emotion, that of us, of the younger generation, no one would see the face of God, unless, growing up to be better men than they had been, we proved ourselves fit to occupy worthily the posts left vacant, and to serve

the Fatherland, not for personal advantage, but in full consciousness of those things which constitute the common welfare. Because those nations alone thrive which prove themselves rich, not in men individually prosperous, but in citizens who, by their private virtues and their public rectitude, become exemplars to the rest of the community, and, like luminous stars, shed light on the nation's onward course.

Such a model of sobriety in private life, such a pattern of probity in public affairs, was the lustrous beacon which has just been extinguished amongst us here; and while lamenting the loss of one who was both a beloved friend and a respected fellow-citizen, we anxiously ask of one another: Who is there to occupy the place he has left untenanted? Where is the man that will show himself equal to an office which he filled by reason of personal merits, admitted of all? Stephen Ralli presided over the Greek Community in London, and, indeed, over the Greeks in England as a whole, in virtue of an all-powerful, if latent and unrecorded, vote: the spontaneous and unanimous consent, which his guileless and captivating personality evoked, and which general confidence in his unselfishness and his rectitude suggested. That he was at the head of the great and world-wide firm of Ralli Brothers, was deemed more of an incident than the direct cause of that presidency. Yet such a coincidence was neither inopportune nor entirely fortuitous. It was to be desired that a successor should appear, worthy of the fame of a house which had maintained intact the ancestral tradition; it was well that the genuine character of the Chiot of old should endure in him.

I.

In these circumstances it seems not out of place to look back upon the resplendent picture of Chios, as drawn by the master-hand of the most illustrious of her sons in recent times. The immortal Coray, notwithstanding his fervid patriotism, which made no distinction between Greeks, prided himself on the virtues peculiar to the Chiots;¹ considering them, as he did, a most valuable factor in the aggregate of our national forces. And, therefore, when he resolved to stir up the Philhellenic spirit in France, he summarised as follows the ancient glories of his native island:²

"Les habitans de cette île ont de tout temps joué sur la scène du monde un rôle aussi honorable que digne d'observation. Dans les temps de leur prospérité, où ils formoient un peuple libre, ils se distinguèrent par la sagesse de leurs lois, et par une opulence puissante, suite naturelle de leurs lois et de leurs mœurs. Au rapport de Plutarque,³ pendant l'espace de sept cents ans on n'entendit parler à Chio ni d'adultère, ni d'aucun commerce illicite entre des personnes

- I And, therefore, he did not escape obloquy, nor the baseless accusations to which some of us are prone. Coray, a Greek of the Greeks, was decried and ridiculed for immoderate "Chiotism." But his Chiotism was the outcome of his genuine and rightly-conceived Hellenism. "I am a Chiot" (he says in one of his letters), "not only because of my birth and bringing up by a Chiot father, but because I have observed and still retain precisely the character of the Chiots." And this character is exactly the one he depicts in the Mémoire; on account of which he commends the Chiots "as doing what conduces to the prosperity and the glory of Greece." And in another letter he congratulates them "on the zeal which they have shown for the enlightenment of Greece."
- ² Mémoire sur l'état de la civilisation dans la Grèce; lu à la Société des Observateurs de l'homme, le 6 Nivose, an XI (6 Janvier, 1803), par Coray, Docteur en médicine et membre de la dite Société. Of this celebrated and, for us Greeks, unforgetable Mémoire, the distinguished English historian C. A. Lyffe (Hist. of Mod. Europe: 1892, ii, 262) speaks as "one of the most luminous and interesting historical sketches ever penned."
- 3 Coray refers here to section xii of Plutarch's De Mulicrum Virtutes: (Κεφάλαιον δὲ τῆς εὐταξίας τῶν γυναικῶν, τὸ μήτε μοιχείαν, μήτε φθορὰν ἀνέγγνον ἐτῶν ἐπτακοσίων μνημονεύεσθαι παρ αὐτοῖς γενομένην): where, however, the correct reading is KIAI instead of XIAI, Plutarch's statement having reference to the women of the town of Cius. Coray must have had in mind, more likely, section iii, in which Plutarch speaks in admiration of the bravery and patriotism of the Chian women:—"Afterwards, a war arising between them and the Erythræans, by far the most potent people among the Ionians, when the latter invaded Leuconia, the men of Chios were unable to defend themselves, and came to an agreement to depart upon these terms, that every one should take with him only one cloak and one coat, and nothing else. But the women of Chios upbraided them as meanspirited men, that they would lay down their weapons and go naked men through their enemies. And when they made answer that they were sworn so to do, they charged them not to leave their weapons behind them, but to say to their adversaries, that the spear is a cloak and the buckler a coat to every man of courage. The men of Chios being persuaded to these

libres. Dans la guerre des Ioniens contre les Perses, de tous les peuples alliés de l'Ionie les habitans de Chio fournirent le plus grand nombre d'hommes et de vaisseaux; et combattirent avec une telle valeur, que pour peu qu'ils eussent été secondés par leurs alliés, ils auroient fait essuyer aux forces navales de Darius le même sort qu'éprouvèrent, quelques années après, de la part des Grecs réunis, celles de son fils Xerxès. C'est Hérodote⁴ qui raconte ce que je viens de dire de la puissance et de la valeur de ces insulaires; et Thucydide⁵ observe qu'ils passoient pour les plus riches de tous les Grecs, et qu'après les Lacédémoniens ils furent les seuls qui eussent uni la sagesse à la bonne fortune; en sorte que, plus leur République devenoit florissante, plus ils avoient le bon esprit d'employer tous les moyens de la conserver dans cet état. Mais ce qui fait le plus d'honneur à ces

things, and emboldening themselves courageously against the Erythræans, and showing their weapons, the Erythræans were amazed at their audacity, and none opposed or hindered them but were glad of their departure. These men, therefore, being taught courage by the women in this manner, made a safe escape. Many years after this there was another exploit, nothing inferior to this in fortitude, performed by the women of Chios. When Philip, the son of Demetrius, besieged the city, he set forth a barbarous and insolent proclamation, inviting the slaves to a defection, upon promise of liberty and marriage of their mistresses, saying that he would give them their masters' wives into their possession. At this the women were dreadfully and outrageously incensed; and also the slaves were no less provoked to indignation, and were ready to assist. Therefore, they rushed forth furiously and ascended the wall, bringing stones and darts, encouraging and animating the soldiers; so that in the end these women discomfited and repulsed the enemy and caused Philip to raise the siege, while not so much as one slave fell oft to him."—(Isaac Chauncy's translⁿ.)

4 "Of those who remained and fought, none were so rudely handled as the Chians, who displayed prodigies of valour, and disdained to play the part of cowards. They furnished to the common fleet, as I mentioned above, one hundred ships, having each of them forty armed citizens, and those picked men, on board; and when they saw the greater portion of the allies betraying the common cause, they for their part, scorning to imitate the base conduct of those traitors, although they were left almost alone and unsupported, a very few friends continuing to stand by them, notwithstanding went on with the fight, and ofttimes cut the line of the enemy, until at last, after they had taken very many of their adversaries' ships, they ended by losing more than half of their own."—Bk. iv, 15.

5 "For, of all those I have known, only the Chians, after the Lacedæmonians, proved at the same time prosperous and sober; and the more their city prospered, the more they had the good sense to provide for her security... They were the richest of the Greeks."—Bk. viii, 24 and 45.

insulaires, c'est, qu'ayant passé de l'état démocratique sous le joug des Macédoniens, ensuite sous celui des Romains, des Génois, et enfin des Turcs, ils ont toujours été, en dépit de toutes ces révolutions, les moins asservis, les moins pauvres et les moins corrompus. Incapables de repousser les coups du despotisme par la force, ils ont employé la prudence, et ils ont su résoudre ce problème : savoir, trouver les moyens de vivre le moins opprimé possible sous un gouvernement arbitraire. Et qu'on ne s'imagine pas que c'est à force d'avilissement qu'ils ont obtenu l'avantage d'être moins vexés que le reste de la Grèce. Voici la manière aussi simple qu'ingénieuse dont ils ont procédé à la solution de ce problême. Réunis entre eux par une concorde sans exemple, ils ont soin de mettre leur île sous la protection spéciale de quelque grand de l'empire; ils ont toujours de leurs concitoyens qui résident à Constantinople, et qui veillent à ce que les intendans, les juges, et tous les autres officiers destinés à l'administration de l'île, ne soient nommés que par ce protecteur, ou du moins qu'ils ne soient point nommés à son insu, et que les instructions qu'ils reçoivent soient telles qu'ils ne puissent presque rien faire sans l'avis et sans le consentement de la municipalité Grecque de l'île. Cette municipalité, nommée par le peuple, qui lui confère pour un an un pouvoir presqu'illimité, n'abuse jamais de ce pouvoir; et l'union fraternelle de tous est telle, que jamais ils n'ont sollicité la destitution d'un officier Turc qui auroit le malheur de leur déplaire, sans obtenir ce qu'ils demandent. Cette union a fait que dans les temps les plus calamiteux pour la nation Grecque, ils ont été les moins à plaindre; et que l'œil du voyageur sensible, fatigué du deuil général de la Grèce, se reposoit sur cette île, qui lui présentoit un tableau plus consolant. Il v vovoit des collèges et des professeurs pas-

⁶ This reference is to the famous Gymnasium at Chios, to the success of which Coray's influence contributed powerfully. What he thought of the utility of that institution is made manifest in a letter (Oct. 22, 1816) he addressed to Jacob Rhotas: "From the Gymnasium of Chios I expect many and great things, not only because it is directed by learned and Socratic professors, but also because, by the providence of God, it has been planted in a city inhabited by men who, while playing and jesting,

sablement instruits, des habitans industrieux, des fabriques de soieries et différens autres métiers lucratifs, une terre

are in the habit of securing important results. It was the witty and urbane Athenians who shed lustre on Greece, not the awkward and ascetic Lacedæmonians." The enrichment of the public library was more especially due to Coray. To the Prolegomena of the 5th vol. of the Parallel Lives of Plutarch (1813) he subjoined an appeal addressed to those European scholars who read with avidity his publications, urging them, in eloquent terms, to send to Chios copies of their works: "Being a native of that island, I deem it my duty to request you, learned men of Europe,—not only in order that I may thus render service to my own country, but even more so that I may prove to her how much you honour learning and those who love education,—to request you all, for the love of the Muses whom you adore, to send gifts to the library of Chios... The whole of Greece will thus be encouraged in the path of regeneration which she has now begun to tread, if she sees that the friends of learning in Europe, as soon as they heard of her enterprise in works of improvement, have manifested a benevolent wish to speed her on the onward course; that, as soon as they heard that the Greeks had rekindled the torch of education, the friends of enlightenment in Europe send her many other torches already lit; that, as soon as it has become known that the descendants of the most learned of ancient nations are striving to recover their ancient virtues, the friends of virtue in Europe come to ease and second their arduous labours..." All the friends and admirers of Coray hastened to enrich the library of his native island with valuable gifts; and the Logios Hermes of 1814 records (p. 12) those of Boissonade, Clavier, Thurot, Didot, Pardessus and many other eminent men of that time, who enhanced the intrinsic value of their presentations by memorable autograph inscriptions. Among others were the books sent by the learned Philhellene Friedrich Thiersch, adorned with the following Greek epigram of his own composition:

" Δῶρον τοῦ Εἰρηναίου Θειρσίου εἰς τὴν δημόσιον τῆς Χίου Βιβλιοθήκην. München, den ersten Juny, im ersten Jahre nach der Befreyung von Deutschland.

"Έλλάδος εἰς ἱερὴν νῆσον καὶ πατρίδ' Όμήρου 'Υμεῖς, ὁ μάκαρες βίβλοι, ἀπέλθετ' όδόν. Χαίρετε, καὶ Χίοισιν ἐμὸν πιθον ἢδὲ καὶ ἀντρφ εἴπατ', ἐν ὁ θεῖος Μοῦσαν ἔφαινε γέρων. Τὴν δ' αὖ ἐλευθερίην, ῆς νῦν φάος ἄμμι πέφανται, 'Ἐξαίφνης καὶ ἐκεῖ λεύσσετ' ἐπορνυμένην."

Coray himself was requested to forward to the Library (*Letters*, iii, 467) the 16 volumes of the new edition of the works of the illustrious D'Aguessau, in whose honour his great-grandfather, Antony Coray, had composed, in 1702, a Pindaric Ode. (The only known copy of which now exists in the British Museum). On a leaf of gold the following inscription appeared:

"A la bibliothèque publique des habitants de Chios, en reconnaissance de l'Ode chantée, il y a plus d'un siècle, en l'honneur de notre illustre D'Aguesseau par un de leurs Compatriotes, l'éditeur des œuvres de D'Aguesseau."

Several English scholars, attracted by Coray's fame, addressed him by

cultivée ou plutôt créée; par conséquent, moins de misère, et plus de mœurs parmi le peuple. Grace à cette industrie,

letter, and also sent books. Bambas reports to him (Letters, iii, 744) that an Englishman sent some fine editions of the Greek classics. William Allen* called upon him personally in Paris and placed at his disposal a sum of money for the education of poor Chiots (Letters, iii, 790-94). Henry Tulk urged him to translate his appeal into French and English, and circulate it throughout Europe. Coray sent his reply to Tulk through a friend in London, telling him to get Tulk to inscribe with his own hand upon the books he presented: "Δώρον είς την Δημοσίαν της Χίου Βιβλιοθήκην, παρά τοῦ Τουλκίου," (iii, 450) and on Sept. 2, 1819, he adds: "I confessed the truth to him; I was ashamed to make my country appear a mendicant. My chief object was to move my own countrymen to emulate good works, hoping that, when they saw strangers help and honour them, they would at last awake from their long slumber. They have awakened, thank God! What Tulk tells me, [about the advisability of translating the address], others also told me here, at that time; but I repeat to you, my object was to do good, not to bring shame upon my country, representing her as in so wretched a condition, that not even a library was she able to secure by her own exertions. Since, however, Tulk has, of his own accord, made this recommendation, it is permissible that we avail ourselves of it." In a remarkable letter to John Cam Hobhouse (Lord Broughton), published in the 2nd edition of A Journey through Albania, 1818, Coray touches again upon this point; and with his usual untiring persistency and precision, he summarises, in the preface (p. 26-7) to the 6th vol. of his Plutarch, the results already obtained, recording among the donors Professor Prevost of Geneva, and Kopitar, the Librarian of the Imperial Library at Vienna. And, urging the Chiots to fresh exertions, he tells them that they might repeat the proud boast of the ancient Athenians: Τοῦτ' ἔχει μέγιστον ή πόλις ημών ἀγαθόν, ὅτι τών καλών ἔργων παράδειγμα τοῖς Ελλησι γέγονε. Similar encouragements he addressed to them in a post-script to the preface to his Xenocrates and Galenus (1814), recording fresh gifts from Professors Thiersch of Munich and Hottinger of Zurich, sent through his life-long friend Alexander Basiliou, who was finally empowered by the managing committee at Chios to devote a yearly sum to the enrichment of the library. To him Coray announces (Aug. 24th, 1816, Letters, ii, 554) with much joy, that Ralli Brothers of London had also presented a fine copy of the Thesaurus of Henri Etienne. All these valuable and historic treasures were swept away by the Turks on the destruction of Chios! And Coray lamenting, wrote (July, 1822) in his Prolegomena to the Ethics of Aristotle: "The annihilation of the Library alone, to say nothing of the other untold and frightful sufferings of the Chiots at the hands of the barbarians, delays for a long time the spread of enlightenment in Greece." And again in a letter (Feb. 3rd, 1825) to Z. Vlasto: "Ah! woe! Is there any hope of the splendid Library and Gymnasium being resuscitated before I close my eyes, so that I may, at least, close them not in tears?"

^{*} W. Allen (1770-1843) the philanthropist and man of science, who in 1818 journeyed to Russia, and, on his return, via Odessa and Constantinople, visited the Greek islands. An account of his intercourse with the Greeks is to be found in the 2nd vol. of The Life of W. Allen, with selections from his correspondence; London, 1846, 3 vols. 8°. On a second journey to Russia in 1822, he pleaded with the Tzar in favour of the revolted Greeks; and later he agitated in England for their freedom, and corresponded with the foremost men of that time for the same object,—with Wellington to little purpose.

Chio, loin de mériter l'epithète de Pierreuse que lui donne Homère,7 est appellé aujourd'hui le jardin de l'Archipel. Ce phénomène politique mérite toute l'attention du philosophe législateur et moraliste; d'autant plus que la sagesse de ces insulaires n'exclue point un naturel jovial, aimable et enjoué jusqu'à la légèreté, qui les distingue des autres Grecs. C'est vraisemblablement ce caractère qui leur a fait donner le nom de Gascons du Levant.8 Je les appellerois plutôt les François du Levant;9 nom qu'ils méritent par leur conduite passée, par l'exemple qu'ils viennent de donner d'un établissement d'instruction à la manière Européenne, et par tout ce que, conduits désormais par le flambeau des sciences, ils ne manqueront pas à faire pour améliorer leur sort et celui de toute la Grèce; car le nombre des étudians des différentes parties de cette contrée, établis dans ce moment à Chio, surpasse celui des étudians indigènes de cette île."

This most graphic presentment is marred by no exaggeration. All travellers prior to our Struggle for Independence, and many of those who visited the Levant later, praise the family virtues, the social decorum, the political good sense of the Chiots, their commercial aptitude, free from guile or craft, the firmness of their character, their skill in the arts, their industry, their sobriety. Finlay himself, not the most lenient of our critics, does ample justice to the exceptional qualities of the natives of that small Greek island:

"The inhabitants [of Chios] were the portion of the Greek people which suffered the fewest evils from the Othoman domination during the eighteenth century. The causes of their happiness and prosperity during a long period, while the rest of their countrymen were poor and discontented, deserve to be examined with attention. The first fact to be

⁷ Χίφ ένι παιπαλοέσση, Hymn. in Apoll. 172.

⁸ See the *Relation de l'île de Chio*, contained in a little book entitled: *Recueil des Rits et Cérémonies du pélérinage de la Mecque*, par Mr. Galant, interprète du Roi. Paris, 1754, chez Dessaint et Saillant.

⁹ Such was Coray's estimate from the first. As early as June, 1792, he wrote to Demetrius Lotos, the Precentor of Smyrna, with reference to his friend D'Ansse de Villoison: "In respect to disposition and manner, he is a genuine Chiot, that is, mirthful in the extreme."

observed is, that they were more honest and industrious than the other Greeks. It was their moral and social superiority which enabled them to secure to themselves the enjoyment of the fruits of their industry. Their island, it is true, possesses some remarkable physical advantages. Almost every article it produces is of superior quality, and, when exported, obtained the highest price then paid for such commodities in foreign markets... The superior moral character of the Chiots was acknowledged throughout the Levant. They were alike destitute of the insolence and rapacity of the Phanariots, and of the meanness of the trading Greeks of the continent. The marked difference which existed between them and the rest of their countrymen was observed by early travellers and foreign merchants. It was generally attributed to the great privileges they possessed But the prosperity of Chios, under Othoman dominion, must be considered as entirely due to the excellent education the inhabitants received for many generations in the bosoms of their families, and not to any extraordinary fiscal privileges and immunities the island enjoyed, nor to any peculiar favour with which it was treated by the Sultans.... It was by union in their municipality and good faith in their private dealings, that the Chiots rendered their ancient usages a blessing to their island, and their fiscal system an advantage to the people, instead of converting them into means of gratifying the ambition of the wealthy archonts and of enriching a few primates, as was the case in most other Greek communities. Among the Chiots industry was honoured, and the honest and active citizen, whose personal exertions had gained him the respect of his fellow-countrymen, was selected to conduct the municipal affairs and to fill the local magistracies. Idleness was so universally despised, that in Chios alone, of all Greek cities, there was no class of young archonts who considered it ignoble to be usefully employed, and who spent their time in soliciting from the Turks the post of tax-collectors, or in intriguing to be named primates by the influence of a pacha, in order to obtain the means of

enriching themselves by acting as the instruments of fiscal extortion. The superior morality of the Chiots in all the relations of life, their truth and honesty, rendered their island for several centuries the most flourishing and the happiest portion of Greece, alike under the Othoman as under the Genoese domination."¹⁰

It was, therefore, a legitimate aspiration on the part of Coray, an ambition worthy of him, that the Chiots should emulate their ancestral glory and that, by putting forth their best endeavours, they should render their characteristic virtues more sure and more fruitful. To this end he urged his fellow-islanders, exhorting them with words of sweet suasion, dictated by the loving heart of a true father. A few years before the flowering fields of Chios were bathed in the blood of her children, having published that truly golden book, the Meditations of Marcus Aurelius, he dedicated it "To the Young Men of Chios" in the following most eloquent and touching address:-"To you, happy children of Chios, I dedicate this inestimable book of that great man and Emperor. I have preferred you to your other Greek schoolfellows, not as more worthy than they, but as running greater risk of proving yourselves unmindful of the providence of God: Who, since He has bestowed on you larger means towards a virtuous life, demands, and in justice expects, of you fruit also more abundant. Your parents have been the first to attempt to bring together a Public Library, a Sanatorium of the Soul (ΨΥΧΗΣ IATPEION), as your forefathers designated such an insti-

To Greece under Ottoman and Venetian Dominion, Ch. v (2nd ed. vol. v, pp. 233-36). See also the description of Chios in 1792 in G. A. Olivier's Voyage dans tempire Ottoman, l'Egypte et la Perse, fait par ordre du Gouvernement pendant les six premiers années de la République. Paris, an IX, vol. ii, p. 103. The old spirit of the Chiots survived their terrible disasters. Writing in 1850, Fustel de Coulanges, in his Ménoire sur l'île de Chio (Archives des Missions scientifiques, t. v. 1856), says: "Il faut qu'à l'exemple des Chiotes eux-mêmes, nous considérions les Turcs comme n'existant pas dans l'île. Chio est un Etat Grec, ayant un gouvernement, des lois, des finances, une politique." Cf. three articles on Chios, by Henry Houssaye and Gasten Deschamps, in the Revue des Deux Mondes, 1st July 1881, 15th Dec. 1892 and 1st Jan. 1893.

tution. Your teachers, who are not inferior in learning and merit to the teachers in other Greek cities, are also your own fellow-citizens. The fathers of your fathers have proved, even in days more unfortunate for Greece than the present times, how potent communal accord is, both to add to the happiness of men, and to lighten their misfortunes. This brotherly community, therefore, which the most humane Emperor calls a Sacred Bond, 11 and the great Apostle a Bond of perfection. 12 it is your duty to draw more closely by every means; so that you may become an exemplar of merit and a beacon to the youth of all Greece, and be enabled to compete with them in that most sacred of emulations, that which tends to further the public welfare. But you will never succeed in doing this, if you fail to imbue your young and impressionable souls with the conviction, that the only ground work, the only sure foundation for a community of men is justice; that to be a self-seeking 13 man is tantamount to being an unjust man; and that the unjust differs only in name from the robber. It is to such a competition, worthy indeed of Greeks, that you are now fervently urged and invited by your fervent friend and fellow-citizen, A. CORAY."14

The fatherly tenderness herein displayed notwithstanding, Coray never hesitated to accentuate his council with a frankness all his own, and with a courage which his good conscience inspired. In a letter addressed to the Chiots in general he tells them that "as the most sagacious of the Greeks, they had also greater responsibilities than the rest." And to one of them, Pantoleon Vlastos, he wrote in 1818: "You praise Chios and place her in the front rank of Greek cities. But for these very advantages, which Providence has conferred on her, Chios must ever be mindful that 'unto

¹¹ Σύνδεσις ίερά vii, 9.

¹² Colos. iii, 14.

^{13 &#}x27;Ακοινώνητος, Marc. Aur. iii, 5.

¹⁴ In a letter (21st Nov. 1816) to Dr. Bambas, the director of the Gymnasium at Chios, Coray gives minute directions how he is to read to his scholars this address, so as to make an impression upon their tender hearts.

whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required.' I declare and resolve, before I close my eyes, that if Chios do not assume in New Greece the same position which Athens occupied in the Greece of old, she will shame the fair promises she has so far given. Such a disgrace I certainly do not desire to have the misfortune of witnessing." And this pious ambition possessed him constantly. "I repeat it: in New Greece Chios must in every respect have the first place in the Temple of the Muses. If you do not succeed in this, tant pis pour vous." What would Greece have been to-day, if we were all animated by this ardent ambition, if our only strife were this noble emulation!

Yet those aspirations, those sweet hopes, were soon to be turned to anguish and bitter pain by the tragic desolation of the martyr island. It was the tribute which all superiority seems bound to pay, sooner or later, to envy and savagery. That appalling disaster prostrated Coray; the venerable old man was menaced with apoplexy. But after the first access of despair, his indomitable spirit spurred him on to fresh exertions. The four letters 15 he then addressed "To the Chiots, everywhere," constitute a veritable political testament, full of stirring appeals and sublime injunctions, "It is but to-day I experience some relief from the paroxysm of anguish and indignation in which the unlooked for disaster to our native land had thrown me; and I seize this first moment of ease that I may offer a word of consolation to all our countrymen, and, if it be possible, to those more especially who have not yet recovered, or have lost all hope of recovering, the members of their own families and their relatives.¹⁶

¹⁵ Dated Oct. 12, 1822; June 25 and Oct. 20, 1823; Feb. 7, 1824. *Cf.* his letters to the Chiots established in Smyrna, Nov. 8, 1810, and to Plato, Metropolitan of Chios, Oct. 4, 1819.

¹⁶ It was the massacre of Chios that inspired those superb lines in Victor Hugo's *Orientales:*—

Les Turcs ont passé là. Tout est ruine et deuil... Charles Brinsley Sheridan, referring to that awful tragedy (*The Songs of Greece*, London, 1825, p. liii), says: "Calling on the illustrious Coray at Paris, I found the room filled with Sciot ladies, who had escaped from the scene of carnage, and flown for refuge to the father of their country as to a parent." The appalling nature of that desolation has often been related;

Considering, then, what sort of relief is worthy of men such as you have proved yourselves in the presence of all Greece prior to your disasters, I have determined upon the following. Those of you who have escaped from the sword of the Great Butcher, must now take revenge on the tyrant. And there is but one kind of revenge permissible to you, or rather, incumbent upon you: you must not be dispersed; but you must all resolve on oath, not only to return to the Fatherland, as soon as the land is freed, but to resuscitate her, and make her more resplendent than before. If you be scattered, or if you neglect to recover the ancestral home, you will prove yourselves unworthy to own a Fatherland, you will cover with shame all those whom your conduct in the past induced to praise the Chiots, and you will cause your enemies to rejoice. Therefore, my unfortunate countrymen, in the hope that you will not endure to add to your involuntary mis-

but the following extract (ii, pp. 324-25), from The Life of Wm. Allen, may be added here: "An application for relief of a pecuniary nature having been addressed to the Society of Friends in Great Britain and Ireland, on behalf of the distressed refugees from the Isle of Scio, now at Trieste and Ancona, their case, and that of others of the Greek nation, who, in the course of the late dreadful events, have been forced from their native country, excited a strong feeling of sympathy and commiseration in the minds of those friends in the metropolis, to whom the representation was first communicated; and a committee was immediately formed for the purpose of giving prompt attention to the subject... The purpose is, *The Relief of the Distressed Greeks*. The committee disclaim any consideration whatever of a political nature: they come forward solely on the plea of humanity and Christian benevolence. It is obvious that the aid in contemplation is not meant to be confined to the sufferers of Scio, but to extend, so far as circumstances may admit, to those in other parts, whom similar distress has befallen: yet, still, in the narrative of misery, the isle of Scio must be considered as standing peculiarly prominent. This island, the central point in modern Greece of civilization and refinement, the seat of reviving literature, the favourite abode of the most opulent families, is become a waste and nearly desolate spot: its comparatively extensive city, a heap of ruins. Of one hundred and ten thousand inhabitants, the estimated population of the island, not more appear to have been left upon it than from eight to twelve hundred. About forty thousand are computed to have been massacred, and forty-eight thousand doomed to slavery, among whom are the wives and daughters of persons who had lived in comfort and affluence: these unhappy females are now groaning under complicated and indescribable miseries." Allen had, during his passage through the Greek islands, visited Chios, and he relates at length (ii, pp. 105-9) his impressions, as well as his interviews with Dr. Bambas.

fortunes the greatest of all calamities, the voluntary abjuration of the Fatherland, I will now explain to you how I would have acted, were I fortunate enough to be one of your fellowpilgrims and fellow-labourers in the good work which you may accomplish, in endeavouring to heal the many wounds of our common country. And for this love of her, I entreat you to listen to my words with that benevolence which you have extended to me thus far." And in the ecstasy of his patriotism, picturing to himself Chios already free, he proceeds to admonish them on the frugality of their re-constructed private abodes, on the restriction of the number of Churches, on the sober simplicity of their ornamentation, and, above all, on the necessity of re-erecting, without delay, the Gymnasium and the Library. "Before your great calamity, what was it that made you honoured in all Greece? what rendered you famous among Greeks? Not, surely, the unnecessarily numerous and sumptuous places of worship; not your private towers;¹⁷ but the Gymnasium, your Public Library, your factories, your wise administration of public affairs, and the rest of your civilization. On these therefore, the useful things, must you again bestow special care, if you wish to revenge yourselves on the Butcher, if you desire to gladden your own countrymen, and to cause sorrow to those envious men who pass by shaking their heads."

These most vivid previsions of Coray led some to conclude that he had received secret assurances of a speedy deliverance of Chios.¹⁸ It was not this which had suggested

¹⁷ $\Pi \theta \rho \gamma \sigma t$ so were called the country houses in Chios, built mostly in the form for towers after the style of the Genoese, who had held sway over the island for a considerable time.

¹⁸ The truth is that Coray was in constant communication with various Philhellenes and with the most influential of his own countrymen, urging them and insisting that, by every possible means, they should bring about the liberation of Chios. Now he proposed that the Turks be offered a sum of money, now that an expedition be organized under Admiral Cochrane. On Oct. 25, 1822, he wrote to a Greek friend in London: "Chios cannot remain in the hands of the Mussulmans." In a letter to the President of the provisional Government of Greece (May 29th, 1824), he appeals in the most earnest terms that measures be devised for wresting Chios from the Turks. To J. Mavrogordatos he wrote, on January 7th, 1828: "I make vows for the reconquest of our Fatherland. In Chios alone, the

his advice; but, "I said to myself: the Chiots, bearing in mind the former splendour of their island, and knowing, from long experience, that its well-being was the outcome of their concord; is it possible they will not now unite, even more firmly, in a sacred bond of harmony? Surely, they will leave no stone unturned, so that they may again rise to the surface from out the pit of adversity into which a savage tyrant has hurled them. Turning these things in my mind, I consoled myself, and I attempted to prophesy, expecting, without any hesitation, to hear at any hour and any moment, of some of your wonted generous deeds, comparable to your former exertions, whereby you had acquired a Public Library, first among the Greeks, you had established a Gymnasium, more perfect than any of the other Greek Gymnasia, and, in one word, you had made Chios a New Athens in the midst of a barbarized Greece." Full of this patriotic and noble ambition, he longed to see Chios, not only free, but prosperous, great, resplendent, rivalling her ancient glory, the pride and exemplar of Hellenism,—"a New Athens." Like a brood-hen calling her young ones under her wings, he cried aloud: "In Chios alone, not elsewhere, is there hope for the Chiots to remain Chiots, and that, only if they return

Chiots will remain Chiots." And again to Capodistria, two days earlier: "The liberation of Chios is reported as certain, from many quarters. But this is not enough: it is necessary to stipulate for the retention of the island, as one of the indispensable articles of the peace now being negociated." The Christian and Protecting Powers, however, willed it otherwise, and they thrust back under a yoke, still reeking with blood, the two martyr islands, Chios and Crete. And the illustrious Chiot, whose eminence among the learned men of his time in Europe might alone have served as a decisive plea and justification for the emancipation of his native island, went down to his grave crying aloud: "Let me but hear of the deliverence of Chios, and I will close my eyes content!" (letter to Vlastos and Rhotas, Dec. 1st, 1827). His patriotic injunctions have been observed as a sacred tradition among his countrymen, who have never ceased to demand the liberation of their homes. In a Petition of Chiots residing in England to the Congress of Berlin, dated June 5th, 1878, they said: "We think that, if any part of the Ottoman Empire is entitled to liberation, the island of Chios, after the unparalleled massacre of March, 1822, when, in the space of three days, 22,000 inhabitants fell under the invader's sword, and 47,000 were carried off into slavery, is pre-eminently entitled to be freed from the government of its executioners, and united to the Hellenic Kingdom," etc. (See Hellenic Committee Publications, V.)

to her at once, before the tinge of foreign customs sinks into the hearts of our young ones. An access of fever agitates my very limbs whenever I see or hear Greek children speaking a foreign language, before they are taught their mothertongue It is high time you should take counsel among yourselves, and be gathered together somewhere, at least for a time, so that this dispersion do not entirely ruin you. If you prolong the delay, the very name of Chios risks being lost, and the island will be owned,—oh! my God,—by Anglochiots, Franco-chiots, Italo-chiots, Austro-chiots; not any longer by men of Chiot manners and customs." Coray was beset by these agonizing fears because, as he explains, some had been heard "disgracefully voicing the shameful watchword of nomads: Anyland Fatherland (πασα γη πατρίς). For the love of God, do not allow such vagrant thoughts to mislead you; let no man's mouth pronounce that Scythian device." Thus he continued to exhort them, "all but from the grave itself, with a moribund body and a heart which the desolation of my Fatherland has blighted more effectually than the infirmities of old age."

But the intrepid old man survived another eight years, and in June 1830 he issued a fresh appeal, addressed "To my beloved, but dispersed and lamenting Chiots." In this letter he urged the Chiots residing in Western Europe to co-operate with those who had taken refuge in Ægina, and who advocated, by means of a circular letter, the establishment of a common settlement. Coray recommended the adoption of this proposal; but more especially he insisted that their children should be brought up as Greeks. course, you will not neglect their education; but for such bringing up as is possible outside of Greece, they will cease to be, not only Chiots, but Greeks at all. Language first, my friends, and, next to that, manners and customs, are what characterize and distinguish one nation from another, as the very word EΘΝΟΣ (ἐθινός), denotes; namely, a people observing its own usages and habits. However much our language may have been barbarized, however much the manners and customs of Greece may have suffered, by the common affliction of a barbarous yoke, yet I prefer both my mother-tongue to that of foreigners, and I love my Greek customs above the reputed wise habits of Western Europe. Luxury has worked greater harm with them, believe me, than slavery has corrupted us. Let us therefore endeavour to preserve both our language, which is destined henceforward to advance in beauty, and our customs, which have already begun to grow more becomingly Greek. Let us cease to give birth to Italian, French, German and English offspring, in a word to 'many strange children,' (as the prophet Isaiah said of the Israelites scattered in captivity), thus annihilating by degrees the best hopes of the Fatherland."

It is impossible to read, without being moved to tears, these words of exhortation and warning of the illustrious old man, words full of fatherly solicitude for his fellow-islanders, inspired by a fervid patriotism, and breathing an inexorably Greek spirit, which remained to the end uncompromising towards foreign tendencies. But it is equally impossible to doubt that, had he lived on for some years after the establishment of the Greek kingdom, Coray, guided by his inborn perspicacity and wisdom, would have been the first to admit²¹

¹⁹ Τέκνα πολλὰ ἀλλόφυλα ἐγενήθη αὐτοῖs. Isaiah, ii, 2. The Authorised version differs from the text of the Septuagint in this, as in some other passages.

²⁰ In even stronger terms he wrote, on July 5th, 1824, to J. Rhotas, and to Z. Vlastos, on Nov. 7th, of the same year; and again, on January 7th, 1828, to J. Mavrogordato, the father-in-law of the late Eustratius Ralli.

²¹ Later, towards the close of his life, he seems to have modified his original recommendations. Having published in the Atakta the Materials for a Chian Archæology, he adds, by way of epilogue: "I dedicate it to my studious young countrymen, those born in Chios or of Chian parents, that they may complete it. What is here contained refers to their Fatherland, and what concerns the Fatherland they should cherish even as they cherish their own parents. It is their indispensable duty to arm themselves, from this early hour, with the arms of learning and virtue; since they are destined to wrench their Fatherland from the grip of the bloodthirsty tyrant, and gradually re-establish her in her former condition, where she was resplendent with philosophers, authors, poets and masters in the liberal arts. It is their duty, prompting and encouraging one another, to sing, To Chios let us go, even as the patriotic virgins of the Bottiæans did, who, not enduring that their Athenian descent be effaced from their

that the maintenance of Greek communities in the great centres of commerce is in the interest of Hellenism generally: provided always that some influence, cohesive of the whole nation, be in existence at Athens, vigilant, wary, acting as the heart and brain of Greece. A Greek kingdom blessed with a good internal administration, leading a social life worthy of Hellenes, proud in the enjoyment of good repute and dignified representation abroad,—such a State could easily and necessarily hold together, by an indissoluble moral and intellectual bond, colonies of this kind, which would then serve as means towards a fruitful activity, as factors of fresh national forces, as outposts, agents and propagandists, not only maintaining their nationality unimpaired, but calculated to promulgate the language and the tradition of Hellenism. How true this is, the writer of these pages has often had occasion to ascertain from personal knowledge and experience. Whenever affairs in Greece, progressing satisfactorily, gave good hope of the realization of our aspirations, whenever the name of Greece resounded with credit, national sentiment among the Greeks abroad was rekindled and reinvigorated; they all claimed the glorious appellation of Hellenes as a title of honour and a boast. But since blight has sat heavily upon Greece and despondency has become general: since our ancestral glory has been dishonoured by the crime perpetrated at Larissa; since pure Hellenic tradition has been scorned in Athens itself; since the nauseating affectation of Frankish manners is, to say the least of it, tolerated in the

memory, sung of yore at their solemnities, To Athens let us go (IMMEN EIX AOHNAX, see Plutarch's Thes. xvi). Each one of the worthy but unfortunate Chiot youths should individually consider and count his whatever powers, whether innate or acquired, as a sacred trust, being always ready to offer them, as soon as called upon by the Fatherland, which has brought him into life and has nourished him into manhood; meanwhile repeating, aloud, and full of indignation against those who are guilty of injustice, or who permit injustice:

'Αλλ' όσσον μὲν ἐγὰ δύναμαι χερσίν τε ποσίν τε, και σθένει, οὔ μέ τί φημι μεθησέμεν, οὔδ' ἢβαιόν, ἀλλὰ μάλα στιχὸς εἶμι διαμπερές.

('To my utmost power with hands and feet and strength no wit, I say, will I be slack, nay, never so little; but right through their line will I go forward.' *Iliad*, xx, 360)."

Court of Athens, and the assumed ignorance of the Greek language by bastard Greeks is deemed a mark of elegance; —who is there that can expect from abroad demonstrations of fervid Hellenism? It is the Capital of the Hellenic Kingdom that must determine the nature and the measure of Hellenic sentiment; it is but natural that the branches wither of that tree whose roots have already been poisoned. Indeed, one may well marvel that the consciousness of nationality has been maintained as vigorous as it is with some of the Greeks born abroad of a second and third generation, and especially by the Chiots. For, of the Greeks who have emigrated, it is admittedly they, as a whole, who have remained most faithfully attached to ancestral ideas. And this, both because of traditions held sacred among them, and because of the unforgetable admonitions of their illustrious fellow-islander.

A conspicuous example of this firm and faithful adherence to the old tradition was the man of blessed memory, whose family was connected with Coray by the ties of friendship,²² and whose departure from among us has called forth these recollections. Let us therefore consider what his memorable life teaches us, in respect to these things.

H.

The growing prosperity of Chios, in the early years of the XIXth century, induced some of the islanders to extend their commercial ventures beyond the narrow limits of the Ægean, and beyond the confines of the Mediterranean itself. Foremost in this enterprising band of men stood the five brothers of the elder branch of the old and numerous family²³ of the Rallis. John established himself in Odessa, Thomas in Constantinople, Augustus in Marseilles, and Eustratius,

²² Coray in his letters refers repeatedly and in most eulogistic terms to the liberality and public spirit of Ralli Brothers.

²³ The name is not confined to this particular family. Both in Athens, and Constantinople, Smyrna, and in some commercial centres in Western Europe, there are several other Rallis or Rhallys, who, however, are unconnected with this one family.

the younger of the five,²⁴ settled in Liverpool later, when the eldest brother Pantia, a man of real genius, and the organiser of the whole firm, had already brought the central house in London to a state of prosperity and prominence. It is he²⁵ who founded, as upon a bed-rock, the firm which has since attained to world-wide fame, and which now stands preeminent among purely commercial houses.

By what means was this signal success achieved? How was an establishment, so imposing in aspect and so firm in structure, built up in a foreign country by five young men, possessed of no great means, natives of an enslaved island, unequipped with those acquired advantages which the heroic struggles of our fathers alone have now rendered common to us all? If history is to be read as something more weighty than a mere tale, we may learn much by looking into

²⁵ It was Pantia Ralli who first organized the system of trading in cargoes of grain, while still on their way from the Black Sea: a system which for more than two generations was the recognised rule and custom of the corn trade in England. Mention of this fact was inadvertently omitted in the Greek original. See also the obituary notices in *The Times* of April 30, and *Truth* of May 1, 1902.

²⁴ He subsequently removed to London where he died, at a ripe old age, in 1883, honoured by all as the doyen of the community, after the demise of his brother Pantia. While still a young man Eustratius Ralli studied n Paris, and enjoyed the favour of Coray's special friendship. Some years later Coray wrote (June 13, 1828, Letters iii, 589) to a correspondent in London: "Tell me, is Eustratius Ralli, the excellent young man whose acquaintance I made here, the son-in-law of J. Mavrogordato?" It is to Eustratius we owe the autobiography of Coray, who clearly states at its outset that he was moved to write it by "one of my Chiot fellow-countrymen, that excellent young man Eustratius Ralli." Eustratius's son-in-law, and one of the principals of the firm, was Demetrius P. Scaramanga (son of one of the hostages in Chio, who suffered a martyr's death), a scholarly man of imposing presence, and of a noble mind. Having studied medicine in Paris, he conceived an unbounded admiration for Coray, and established there, on Decr. 6, 1835, the Coray Hellenic Society. Among the many eminent men who were at once enrolled as members, were Victor Hugo, Pouqueville, Hase, Dehèque, Jules David, and Chateaubriand in France, and, in Greece, Carnaris, Gennadius, Bambas, Tricoupis, Asopios, and others. Young Scaramanga was then elected Vice-President for the first, and President for the second year, and read various papers, including one on the Life of Euripides. These manuscripts, as well as the archives of the Society, were preserved by the Secretary of the Society and, subsequently, Professor in the University of Athens, the late N. I. Saripolos. It would be worth while to have the entire series of those papers published.

the record of this most renowned of Greek commercial houses. For even foreigners, impressed and admiring, often inquire: where does the secret lie, not of success on occasions, but of the permanent prosperity, of the unshakable solidity, of the systematic development and steady onward progress of this colossus?

As in the case of almost all great conceptions, the organization of Ralli Brothers is based on principles which are simple in themselves, but are rarely and with much difficulty maintained intact and unimpaired for long. Pantia Ralli, having espoused a commercial career, laid down as a rule in life and a condition not to be infringed, absolute probity and straightforwardness in his transactions. Gain is, no doubt, the object of every merchant; but a reasonable gain, fairly acquired.26 True to this principle, his ventures were never clothed in mystery, nor has the least trace of suspicion ever rested upon the operations of the firm. It is doubtful whether as much may be said of others, whose only object in life has been to amass wealth. A second rule was established in the iron discipline which regulates the relations of superiors and inferiors, and which, indeed, pervades the entire organization. But this discipline is tempered by the patriarchal tradition, according to which the younger members are imbued with a kind of filial submissiveness and devotion, while the principals are tolerant and solicitous, as towards children of their own. Yet, neither relationship nor wealth weighs much in respect to promotion. Personal merit, zeal for the interests of the firm, aptitude for special work—these are the qualifications which determine gradual advancement to positions of trust and responsibility. Thirdly, no partner and no employé is per-

Χρήματα δ' ίμείρω μὲν ἔχειν, ἀδίκως δὲ πεπάσθαι Οὺκ ἐθέλω.

and Plato refers (Gorg. vii) to the old drinking song, which enumerates among the goods of life, third, wealth honestly obtained.

²⁶ Coray having been compelled early in life to follow, much against his wish, a commercial career, had engraved on his seal a motto to the effect that one should derive a livelihood from all sources save those which are objectionable: Βίον πορίζου πάντοθεν, πλὴν ἐκ κακῶν. (Letter to J. Rhota, Feb. 9, 1817). Solon had said very much the same thing:

mitted to lead a life unduly luxurious or extravagant; no one may embark in any sort of speculation; no one may take part. directly or indirectly, in any other combination or enterprise whatsoever. The whole mind, all the strength, thought and preoccupation of each individual member must be centred in promoting the interests of the firm, which is viewed, on the whole, as some abstract and eminent personality. All, from the oldest principal to the most recent recruit in the office, must be at their posts regularly and at an early hour. The firm carries on its transactions by means of its own resources; never on credit. It never issues "paper," but does a cash business to the extent of its available means; and its means are great. Consequently, on the recurrence of financial crises, which periodically perturb the city, the firm of Ralli Brothers has invariably remained as unmoved as the Bank of England, and, indeed, less concerned than the Bank of England.

What is truly remarkable in these injunctions, is not the transcendent ingenuity with which one might imagine them to have been formulated, but the fact that, being as simple as they are hard to observe strictly for any long continuity of time, they have been religiously maintained irrefragable for close upon an entire century. Three things have contributed to this: first, the deep respect which the genuine Chiot has for ancestral tradition, by reason of his conservative disposition; secondly, the far-sighted wisdom and perspicacity with which the ever to be remembered Pantia ordered the affairs of his house ²⁷; thirdly—and this is the most important—that the principals themselves are the first to submit to the conditions which were once and for all laid down; thus offering themselves an example to those under them, and, consequently, being able to exact from all an all-the-more-ready obedience to the rules of the house. Who can imagine a law-abiding "model" state, the rules of which are foremost in licentiousness and contempt of the law?

²⁷ It may be here mentioned that the Chiots in London, nicknamed Pantia Ralli *Zeus*, thereby admitting humorously the moral influence he exercised over the community.

It was natural that the establishment thus brought into existence by the eldest of the Brothers Ralli, being founded on principles of the most strict probity, should both prosper commercially, and engender in the hearts of those who cooperate the love of the true science of life.28 Not only the genius of the firm pervades the dispositions of them all, but one may observe among them a uniform mode of life and an almost identical type of character.²⁹ By degrees their inner consciousness is imbued with that appreciation of straightforwardness which pervades the whole establishment, with the love of industry, order and discipline. So that even he, who may not have prospered materially, is none the less trained in the exercise of these qualities, and becomes wedded to habits which are of inestimable value in after life. There are not a few such men with whom the house of Ralli Brothers has endowed our community, thus having proved both a benefactor and a source of pride to the common country. Of late, more especially, when adverse circumstances have inflicted deep wounds on Greek commerce, the firm has become—to use the humorous expression of one of our countrymen in London— "the friary of Hellenism": many a shipwrecked sea-farer has sought refuge, and some have been admitted therein. But let no one imagine that ingress is free or easy to all. Far from it; and it is as well that this should be known, so that vain appeals or deceptive expectations may be avoided. Whenever a post is vacant, candidates who have already proved themselves to be possessed of the necessary qualifications, pass through a competitive examination, the most successful being then chosen. Moreover, the program of examination is not

²⁸ Βιωτική, so first named by Marcus Aurelius, vii, 61.

one of his Chiot countrymen: "Keep also this in mind, that virtue is a thing of habit, and may be acquired, like all those other things to which man attains by long training. It becomes a custom and almost a second nature. But such custom should begin at an early age... Whoever accustoms himself early to rejoice in what is just, and to be indignant at things unjust, he will retain this same habit and propensity when he reaches manhood. But that a child may become imbued with these persuasions, he should be surrounded by good examples, and be kept at a distance, as far as possible, from wicked words and wicked deeds."

a light one, for now-a-days commerce has become a veritable science; and, in order to succeed, not only tireless industry, but all-round attainments and information of all kinds are necessary.

It is not difficult to conclude from all this, that a business so organized was bound rapidly to come into the front rank. Prior to our War of Independence, it had already attained to an important position in the mercantile world. After the establishment of the kingdom, as Greece was then and for some time later animated by the laudable ambition to be represented abroad in a worthy and dignified manner, Pantia Ralli was the first to be appointed Consul-General in London. But some of those incidents of mal-administration, which are not unusual with us, provoked his weariness and his resignation. Meanwhile, the commercial interests of the house steadily extended along the Black Sea, on the shores of which Greek trade then prospered, as well as in Constantinople and Persia, where the firm of Ralli Brothers soon became all powerful, and in India, where they were the first Greeks to establish themselves as merchants. Such was the flourishing condition to which the untiring energy and ability of Pantia had brought the concern, when, towards 1863, he sought that rest which advanced age imposed, and the abundance of the fruit harvested justified. His successor was then already designated and prepared.

Stephen, the son of Augustus Ralli of Marseilles, having been educated in France, and having given early proof of rare talent and great ability, was attached, in 1851, to his uncle in London, who, with characteristic perspicacity, discerned the merits of the young man, and undertook to mould and adapt them suitably to the great work that lay before him. Henceforward the prestige and the interest of the firm absorbed the very soul of young Stephen Ralli, and filled it with a sort of religious cult. His devotion to work became a veritable passion. But his was an intelligent industry, guided by scrupulous inquiry into every detail; his thirst for knowledge

and information of all kinds was insatiable; and each inquiry he pursued with enthusiasm. Moreover, nature had endowed him with an astounding power of memory, an advantage without which one can hardly succeed in complex and intricate combinations. These great qualities of Stephen Ralli were supplemented, so to say, and strengthened by the more slow but absolutely sure judgment of his partner and inseparable companion, Alexander Vlastos³⁰ of blessed memory, who often curbed the Achilles-like impetuosity of his cousin. It was touching, and at the same time edifying, to witness the harmonious co-operation, the unjarring concord, the fast and enduring friendship of those two men, whom death alone availed to part for a short space of time. During their united control of the firm, its operations were developed

30 The writer of these pages dictated, more than a year ago, the following remarks, as part of a preface to an Annual, the editor of which published them without any acknowledgment : "We fulfil a sacred duty in adding a few words-all too inadequate to the purpose-in memory of the ever-to-be-remembered Alexander Vlastos, whose untimely death has left in the Greek Community of London a void keenly felt and hard to fill. His probity and his other virtues will remain among us ever memorable: they were the virtues of a true and typical Greek. Descended from an ancient and numerous Cretan family, which in later times flourished in Chios, our lamented countryman breathed only for a short space of time the air of free Greece. But we doubt whether there lives in Greece itself one whose patriotism is as fervent and as purely Hellenic as his was unanimously admitted to have been. For many along year he was an ornament of this community and the pride of the firm of Ralli Brothers—the oldest and most renowned of Greek business houses. To his great commercial abilities he united rare Greek scholarship, thus offering a living contradiction of the foolish fallacy-which, indeed, amounts at times to a superstitious belief-that a good merchant can waste no time or thought on serious literature. In the City of London there was no one better informed in commercial affairs than Alexander Vlastos. Yet, not a day passed, but he pondered at home over the text of some Greek classic. And this he did, not for ostentation, for he was the most modest of men; nor out of pedantry,—for nature endowed few men with a more rational mind. In the study of Hellenic literature he found relief from the day's toil; he entered into intellectual communion with those whose language he adored and whose wisdom he emulated. That many things in our community have been maintained true to Greek ideals, as they were from the first, is due mainly to his fidelity and adherence to ancestral tradition. It is the memory of such a man we all bless, while yet we mourn his loss. And if his life-work were related at greater length than the narrow limits of this short preface permit, it would have proved a source of instruction and gratification to those who understand how profitable it is to record the lives of men graced with the virtues of old."

and extended enormously. In India—where it remains almost the only survivor of the numerous Greek establishments formerly in that country,—it occupies commercially the first place: neither English nor German firms can compare with its ascendency there. In another direction, in North America, its first attempts proved so successful, that its branch houses are now to be met with in every commercial centre of the States, occupying a foremost place in the cotton trade. Thus the Panhellenic house of Ralli Brothers, starting from small beginnings, is now prominent on three Continents, and has become a world-wide concern.

It is not difficult to conceive that the constant attention and responsibility, which the scrupulous transaction of operations of such magnitude exacts, must, of necessity, be so heavy, as hardly to render the resultant profits attractive to one who, at an early age, was already the possessor of great wealth. The motive, therefore, which induced Stephen Ralli to submit voluntarily to unceasing work and life-long efforts, must have been of another nature. Apart from the noble ambition which spurred him to maintain unimpaired, and indeed to increase, the prestige of the house of his fathers, he realized that the cessation, or even the restriction of the transactions of the firm, would expose to privations thousands of men who now earn a living in its service. And as no healthy organism can remain stationary, the progress and expansion of the operations of the house was the necessary consequence of its flourishing condition. But the mere hoarding of coin had no attraction for Stephen Ralli. Success, the prestige attending generous efforts, the consequent honour of the house: these things delighted him; for, as he truly said, prestige, if well-founded, is also wealth.

From these few and rapid traits, even a reader who has not known him personally will easily conceive what manner of man was the ever-to-be-remembered Stephen Ralli: a man, not only of action, of great commercial talent, of bold conceptions, but endowed also with a rare nobleness of soul, and with a warm and sympathetic heart. These moral qualities

were the chief ornament of his character. And those who considered, not his eminence as a man of business, but his exemplary social and private life, were impressed by this fact, more especially: that his exceptional merits were hidden from view and rendered at first sight undiscernible by a child-like simplicity and an incomparable modesty. Closer and more familiar intercourse, however, revealed the perfect culture of the man, his manifold attainments, convictions formed by conscientious thought, and an unerring judgment. These rare merits were held together and made fruitful by a conciliatory disposition and by a disinterestedness known to all. At the meeting-places of business-men in the City, his opinion on commercial and financial questions was eagerly sought; and, when a serious difference arose between British ship-owners and the Suez Canal Company, his interposition alone sufficed to bring about a compromise. In like manner, in the intricate question of Indian currency, the information he supplied and the suggestions he offered to the Royal Commission, which was then formed, contributed materially towards a satisfactory solution

These latter questions had some political bearing and importance; but from active politics he entirely abstained. Yet he followed carefully the march of affairs, and his judgment was sound. The Société Nationale Française à Londres honoured him-since by birth he was a French subjectwith the Presidency on two or three occasions; and it is a well-known fact that the representatives of France in England had recourse more than once to his tried sagacity and experience. But in permanence, especially since the death of his uncle, he may be said to have been the president, Nestor and father, of the Greek community in London: and this, not by reason of any formal election, but by virtue of an unanimous and spontaneous consent. All yielded to his counsel, for all felt his moral ascendency; all believed in his unselfisliness; all knew from experience that he was just, and that his decision would be impartial. No one feared lest he sought to impose himself; for he never attempted to use for sordid purposes, or for personal advantage, the great influence he wielded.

Being generous and anything but avaricious, he led a dignified and sober life, free from ostentation, worthy of a man of gentle birth, not of one whom chance alone had favoured. No one entertained a more whole-hearted contempt for the noisy extravagance of the nouveaux riches; no one had a more acute perception of that which is ludicrous in the vulgar strut of individuals who but yesterday could only crawl. For, being a genuine Chiot, he had also a keen sense of humour; and his laughter, emanating from a guileless heart, echoed with the pure ring of artless spontaneity. At home, the ever-engrossed and busy City merchant was transformed into a charming and affable host, welcoming his guests with an incomparable heartiness, distinguished by an old-world but unaffected and most delicate urbanity. He was small in stature; yet the sparkle of his eyes, the vividness of his expression, the silver-white beard and hair which encircled his face, like a lion's mane, his imposing presence and, above all, his entertaining conversation, which fixed attention and captivated the listener, left no thoughts about his person.

Being of a disposition so generous, and by nature so sympathetic, it was impossible that he should not be way-laid by those knaves who sedulously seek out the vulnerable rifts in the panoplies of virtue. Among those who have lived the life of this world, how many are there of whom can be said that which Beranger said of Lafayette,—that he was "un livre sans errata"? Consequently the good and guileless man, led astray by artful insinuations, sometimes formed erroneous conclusions. But nothing would rouse his naturally gentle and forbearing disposition to a higher pitch of indignation than the detection of some act of treachery, or injustice, or baseness, even though it did not affect him personally. For he had a strong sense of the duties of a good citizen, and he knew full well that second only to one's own misconduct is the indifference, or the toleration, shown to those

who wrong others, or cause injury to the public weal. Consequently he never ceased to evince keen interest and solicitude in the state of affairs in Greece.

He longed to visit his native island; and, recalling her ancient glory, her martyr-like sufferings, her eagerness in all that is good and helpful,³¹ he repaired to Chios as on a pilgrimage. It was then (in 1885, I think) that he passed through Athens and other towns in Greece. I shall never forget the speech he delivered at a banquet held on his return, extolling as he did the qualities and the onward strides of the Greek people, and making ardent vows for

31 How is it possible not to be moved to tears—unless, indeed, one's heart has been hardened into stone—when one considers the pious enthusiasm with which the generation immediately preceding the Revolution greeted every new sign of regeneration, every advance in humanism! How else could Greece have been resuscitated and freed? Coray, not content with the Gymnasium and the Library, wished to have a printing press established at Chios, and he even instituted enquiries as to the J. Rhotas, Oct. 11th, 1819). The fact that the Cydonians had actually got a printing press at work in their flourishing town (which was also swept out of existence by the Turks), would not allow him to rest; and he wrote to Bambas (Nov. 21, 1816), and to P. Vlastos (Sep. 22, 1818), and to Kokkinakis (April 13th, 1819), protesting that the Chiots ought to be ashamed of themselves to allow any other Greek town to outstrip them in the race for enlightenment. Finally he succeeded in collecting the necessary funds, and the press was sent out by his friend and disciple, Didot. The moment of exultation was then reached, and on Nov. 19th, 1819, he writes: "I have received a copy of the speech which Bambas delivered on the opening of the Gymnasium last September, printed at the printing press of Chios. I need not tell you of the exquisite gratification it has afforded me; but you must hear of that which has added to my happiness. There are now here [in Paris] some forty young Greek students. They all rushed to snatch the booklet from me, and they are passing it from hand to hand, congratulating each other; they show it to the foreigners, priding themselves, as on a piece of great good fortune for Greece. If you were a witness of this enthusiasm of our young men, you would, undoubtedly, have been moved to tears of joy, such as I have shed." And again on Oct. 20, 1820: "My grief on the occurrences in Smyrna has been allayed by the letters I have received from Bambas and the Commissioners at Chios. Toujours en avant, and neither gods nor demons will now avail to set them back! They have 476 pupils, of whom 400 are from Chios itself, 74 from other parts of Greece (most of them Cephallonians and Peloponnesians), and the remaining two—guess whence they come: for you cannot know of it,—they are Americans! You cannot imagine to what degree this has gratified me, considering the consequences of such an event, which is truly epoch-making." The names of those two Americans have been recorded (Letters, iii, 463); they were Parson and Fisk.

the realization of the hopes and patriotic wishes of us all. His frame quivered with enthusiasm, and his voice was broken with emotion. But a latent inmost feeling depressed him. The disease which was then already gnawing the vitals of Greece did not escape his observation: his apprehensions for the inevitable consequences daily increased. He, therefore, offered the late M. Tricoupis much good advice then, and later by letter. But his counsel was the voice of one crying in the wilderness. And a wilderness, arid and wasted, has proved the high place in which, after Tricoupis' death more especially, all important decisions on public affairs have been centred. The reply, characteristic in its heedlessness and want of scruple: "You do not know the country:" this answer was the only comfort administered to his reiterated warnings. For no one is deemed in Greece to "know the country," who is not ready to wade through mud. "The only system of Government suited to this country is the present system." And, manifestly, part of that system is to beguile the unfortunate country with deceptive promises of reforms; reforms which, those who promise them, abominate most. Stephen Ralli was one of the few men who were not deceived by such machinations; his rare perspicacity quickly discerned both the cause of the mischief and the source of the pretexts. Even so, he was not deterred from constantly benefiting the country. On every national emergency, in every philanthropic work, the firm of Ralli Brothers took the lead in promptness and generosity: and that, after experiences often discouraging. With the exception of one solitary instance, the subscribers have never received a list of the total contributions, nor any statement of the use made of the funds subscribed.

I shall not here say anything of the so-called "moral rewards" due for such services; because with us, far from being preserved unsullied as worthy objects of emulation, they have been debased into immoral distinctions. My unforgetable and regretted friend Byzantios [the late editor of the *Nea Imera*], used to say, with that inimitable humour

and pungency which distinguished him, that since the Grand Cordon of the Redeemer has become the special distinction of all "the Cordons bleus" (cooks) and brokers in Paris, no moderately respectable person is ambitious to be thereby redeemed. Stephen Ralli was the last of mortal men to care for such distinctions. But what concerns us is, not the modesty of a man above reward, but the prestige and the interests of Greece herself. In well-governed countries, the Fatherland, which rewards merit, is honoured when the number of citizens, worthy of reward, is great; and those who are of that number deem the welfare of the country itself their most precious reward; while, on the other hand, that welfare is ensured when the counsel of the upright and worthy citizens is eagerly sought, is listened to attentively, and weighs in the administration of public affairs. whenever favoured and trusty councillors are persons notorious for their slavish disposition, whenever "chosen vessels" are old women, in the form of men, whose lives are steeped in sin, there good citizens vanish of necessity, much as pure gold rapidly disappears from a market which has been flooded with base coin. Quite constantly one hears in Greece the complaint of "want of men" (λειψανδρία). But there is, perhaps, no other nation which comprises in itself abilities more various, or talents more conspicuous. And proof of this is, not only the individual success of our countrymen everywhere, but the advancement and distinction to which many a Greek has attained in the service of foreign States. But can men thrive in a state of things in which the upright citizen is counted a foe, and he who achieves distinction is ostracised? The counsel, therefore, and the opinion of Stephen Ralli (eagerly sought, as we have seen, by the representatives of France), would have proved inestimable to his own country, to which, urged by a sense of public duty, he spontaneously offered it, if it were accepted, and accepted with some show of consideration. The advantages of such a policy would have been as great as they are self-evident. It is to the interest of Greece to draw unto herself all her sons, wherever they may be residing; thus making of Athens, not a winter resort for the vain display of uncertain and fluctuating new wealth, but the centre of a most powerful organization, whose unbreakable moral bonds would then extend to the ends of the earth.

According to the traditional custom of the Chiots, Stephen Ralli married, while still a young man, choosing as his bride, from within his own circle, but from another branch of the same extensive family, Marietta, the daughter of Antony Ralli. This lady, endowed both by nature and education with rare gifts, contributed powerfully to his social position and promoted many philanthropic undertakings in which they laboured together, noiselessly and unostentatiously, in accordance with the Evangelic precept: "Let not thy left hand know what thy right doeth." A devoted husband, an affectionate father, he knew but of one perfect enjoyment and sweet relaxation: serene repose in the bosom of his own family. His home life, in its patriarchal simplicity, presented an idvllic picture. Indeed, these family virtues have been of old a distinctive feature in Greek character, and the proud boast of our people. And, in a social point of view, they are of the utmost importance; since they contribute to the formation of those other qualities which are known as public virtues.

For these reasons he was also a good citizen. He maintained the independence of his opinions, and the inviolability of his conscience. He fulfilled his public obligations with courage, firmness, and an unwearied zeal; which all betokened a scrupulous sense of duty. Nor did he discriminate between precept and practice; but his own deeds were equal to his exhortations. He was austere, but at the same time tolerant; impartial, yet conciliating. Having, according to the Socratic injunction, established in his soul continence as the groundwork of virtue, he lived unsubdued by passion, untarnished by arrogance, undisturbed by the accumulation of wealth, reprobating clamour, and counting ostentation as a thing derogatory to the dignity of man. Gentle by nature, and

sober of temperament, he was imbued from childhood with the saving precepts of Christianity, arming his soul with piety, and benevolence, and humility; wherefore he passed through this world without tasting the bitterness of enmity. Thus his life flowed on, like a stream broad and powerful, but smooth, noiseless, free from eddies or upheavals. And he would have been of the number of those few who have slept the last sleep in complete felicity, if fate had not resolved to try his closing years in those things most cruelly, which made up the very joy of his life. But if we be not tried, how many of us would ever know what constitutes true happiness?

Έν τῷ Φρονεῖν γὰρ μηδὲν ἤδιστος βίος, ἔως τὸ χαίρειν καὶ τὸ λυπεῖσθαι μάθης.

Divine providence seemed as if determined to purge his soul completely before calling him to his eternal rest. Some years ago he suffered a severe blow in the death of his eldest son Augustus, who was then at Eton, and in whom centred the hopes of succession in the firm. To that cruel trial he submitted with admirable fortitude, bowing to the will of God. But of late the sorrows which embittered his ripe old age followed each other with a rapidity which reminded one of the tragic intensity of those bare, iterated words: "While he was speaking there came yet another messenger unto Job." After the untimely death of his inseparable companion and partner Alexander Vlastos, he lost, in quick succession, two beloved sons-in-law, and three other of his nearest relatives. Severest blow of all, his second son Antony, a brave young gentleman, the beau ideal of a soldier, who, having served in the British army with distinction, had risen to the grade of Major in the Twelfth Lancers, died during that sad South African War, which snatched its victims even from out of peace-loving homes. The bitterness of this last calamity the venerable old man was unable to throw off. Even the warm and genial climate of Monaco failed to revivify his wearied heart; and he passed away peacefully in the seventy-third year of his age.

In the stately chapel which he had erected in memory of his son Augustus, on an eminence overlooking the Greek Cemetery, there he himself had fixed the place of his last rest. There the burial took place with the strict simplicity he had enjoined. Neither wreaths, nor orations, nor funeral pomp—futile hire of a day's notoriety, the portion of men obscure but vain. The recognition of his archaic virtues, the remembrance of his blameless life, the avowal that the void he left behind him cannot easily be filled: these things were signified and interpreted, more eloquently than any oration could have proclaimed, by the spontaneous presence of all the Greeks in London and of many English merchants and bankers;³² by their unfeigned sorrow; by the genuine and heartfelt grief pictured in the countenance of all.

Farewell, thou blessed and happy one! We will not weep for thee, who hast run the long and weary course of this life, and hast emerged a victor. We lament rather our own present lot, bereft as we are of thy wished-for presence, of thy wise counsel. But "even in dissolution thou soothest." For the hearts of us all are comforted by the echo of the divine words that have greeted thy entrance into the abodes of the just: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful over a few things, I shall make thee ruler over many things. Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

Written in London, during the week of our Lord's Passion 1902.

³² Some of the most important commercial and shipping corporations in England have addressed to the family resolutions expressive of their sympathy and of their condolence on the death of Stephen Ralli. Both he and his firm have done honour to Greek commerce, and have benefited it in many ways. Yet the Chambers of Commerce in Greece seem to have fallen into a deep slumber. Of course, the present occasion is not one of those opportunities, which a certain class of men in Greece seize eagerly, in order, as it would seem, to make themselves objects of ridicule and contempt, by voting addresses and by organizing memorial services for deceased aliens and strangers, who never did anything for Greece, nor wasted so much as a thought upon her, but whose names appear to tickle ears that may be far-reaching and acute, but are manifestly wanting in discernment.







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